

THE MILITANT

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Freedom Riders Face Trial As Racist Violence Goes On

By Fred Halstead

Appeal trials of Freedom Riders taking place in Hinds County Court House in Jackson, Mississippi, two a day, five days a week, began August 22 and are scheduled to continue through mid-January next year. At least 297 Negro and white persons have been arrested attempting to integrate Jackson transportation facilities since the first Freedom Riders reached the city last May 24. Some have paid fines, some are out on bail and some are still in jail.

The Congress of Racial Equality has announced that all appeal trials will be by jury, requiring about 2,400 jurors for the trials already set, and that five of the cases will be tested all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The trial dates for nearly 200 riders were set at mass hearings in Jackson August 14.

Force of Example

Some of the effect of the Freedom Riders' historic efforts were seen the night before, when 175 riders were guests at a rally in a church in the Negro community in Jackson. Said Rev. G. R. Haughton, one of the hosts, "They said we wouldn't integrate in Jackson," but "There has been a great change in the attitude of the people. They are rallying to the cause." He reported that a white policeman, patrolling the block that night, remarked, after watching the crowd of Negroes and whites enter the church: "We might as well give up... We can't win this battle."

While the Freedom Riders have inspired increased integration efforts throughout the South, racists and particularly the police, have far from given up opposing them with violence. Police attacks on integrationists have occurred recently in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana and North Carolina.

Three of the Freedom Riders were arrested on charges of "vagrancy" while staying overnight in a home in a colored neighborhood in New Orleans on the way to their court hearings in Jackson. Police placed the three (all are white) in a patrol wagon with a provocateur who attacked them. Then the cops beat the three with clubs and charged them with assault and attempted escape. The judge before whom they appeared the next day asked Frank Nelson, 23, of California, why he quit an \$8,000-a-year civil engineering job to join the Freedom Riders "and get all messed up like this."

"For civil liberties," Nelson answered. Nelson said the judge told them they should be more concerned with making a living than with civil liberties, as he dropped the vagrancy charge but sustained the assault and attempted escape counts.

Almost Divine

Currently Edward Kennedy, the President's youngest brother, is touring South America. U.S. News and World Report (Aug. 21) gives this sample of his "unorthodox" approach, "Visiting a rural area of poverty-stricken Northeast Brazil, the younger Kennedy told a group of ragged peasants: 'President Kennedy is personally concerned with your welfare and as proof of this has sent me, his own brother, to talk to you as an equal.'"



Jomo Kenyatta Finally Freed

Jomo Kenyatta, 71, is free after serving a seven-year sentence in the Kenya desert. His sentence was completed in 1959 but the imperialists continued his detention till this Aug. 21 when mass pressure forced his release.

Kenyatta, president of the Kenya Africa Union and long-time associate of Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, never lost favor with the African masses. The day before his release 20,000 people, including heads of Kenya's two new African political parties, traveled to the small town outside Nairobi, where he had been brought, to pay him homage. He is the overwhelmingly popular choice for Prime Minister when Kenya becomes independent.

Barred From Office

As a former prisoner, Kenyatta is ineligible to run for office and the British are being flooded with demands that his political rights be restored.

The world imperialist press portrayed Kenyatta as sinister Moscow-trained leader of the Mau Mau. He denounced these charges at his 1953 frame-up trial. Last year the main prosecution witness of that trial confessed that he had been bribed to fabricate his testimony.

Instead of a conspiracy to kill all whites, the so-called Mau Mau war was a movement of self-defense by the Africans against the white settlers' lynch campaign to destroy the Kenya African Union which was demanding majority rule and return of stolen lands.

During the six years of the "Mau Mau terror" in Kenya less than 100 whites were killed, but white vigilantes and British troops slaughtered thousands of Africans, hanged hundreds more and herded huge numbers into concentration and torture camps.

Kennedy Heats Up Berlin Powder Keg at Risk of War

By George Lavan

President Kennedy and his Pentagon advisors are callously stoking the fire under the international powder keg of Berlin. They are deliberately risking the outbreak of World War III and the nuclear devastation which would result.

Yet Washington's calculated build-up of the Berlin war crisis is unabated. White House, Congress and the Big-Business press are untiring in their efforts to whip up a psychology of national emergency. They are trying to sell people on the idea that it is reasonable and patriotic to accept the prospect of general atomic war and that the basements of city buildings, with a little preparation and

a supply of food, can save a majority of Americans from nuclear destruction.

In his speech to the nation on July 25 asserting that the U.S. would go to war to protect its "rights" in Berlin, Kennedy called for a \$3.5 billion increase in military outlay. This was his third upward revision of the arms budget in a half-year in office — two previous hikes had brought the expenditure from \$40 to \$43 billion.

Along with the beating of the war drums went a doubling and trebling of draft call-ups, alerting of National Guard forces and large-scale maneuvers.

It was boasted that on the diplomatic and military front Washington had finally regained the of-

fensive. Domestic fruits were summed up by the *New York Herald Tribune's* headline of August 2: "Highest Ever—Stock Values Up 3.8 Billion. Defense News, Outlook, Set 'Boom' Mood."

The White House rejoiced that Kennedy was finally projecting the desired popular image—somewhat tarnished by miscalculations in Cuba and Laos—that of a strong fearless leader, able to peer into the very jaws of nuclear annihilation without flinching. Big Business circles and administration strategists began to suggest that the emergency situation might warrant wartime controls over labor and wages.

For what is Kennedy subjecting the American people, indeed all mankind, to the risk of World War III? What were those American troops rushed in convoy so melodramatically to Berlin being sent to prevent?

U.S. (and British and French) "rights" in West Berlin consist solely of (1) occupying part of the city (which is over 100 miles inside East Germany territory — most Americans mistakenly think it is on the border between East and West Germany) and (2) the right of access through East Germany to the city. This is all that the Four-Power agreements made in 1944 and 1949 granted. These "rights" are in no way threatened by the Kremlin or by East Germany.

In June, as several times before, Khrushchev called for a peace conference of the major World War II allies and East and West Germany to draft a peace treaty officially ending that war (which militarily ended 16 years ago). As usual the U.S. rejected this proposal since it would mean acknowledging the existence of East Germany, which it refuses to do. Khrushchev then stated that before the end of the year the USSR would conclude a separate peace treaty with East Germany as the U.S. did with Japan. This would mean withdrawal of Soviet troops from Berlin and possibly from

(Continued on Page 3)

Leading Playwright Blisters British Over Berlin Policy

A searing denunciation of Britain for following U.S. policy to the brink of nuclear war over Berlin by John Osborne, one of England's leading writers, has drawn world-wide attention.

In an open letter published in the left-wing labor newspaper *Tribune*, Osborne wrote: "This is a letter of hate. It is for you, my countrymen. I mean those men of my country who have defiled it. The men with manic fingers leading the sightless, feeble, betrayed body of my country to its death. You are its murderers and there's little left in my own brain but the thoughts of murder for you."

Osborne wrote that his favorite fantasy was to imagine himself watching members of Parliament frying in their "democratically elected hot seats." He said that in his heart there was murder and a knife for Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and for right-wing Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell—"you particularly." Gaitskell is especially hated by the anti-war forces in England for betraying the Labor Party's position against nuclear disarmament.

"I wish we could hang you all out, with your dirty washing on your damned Oder-Neisse line, and those seven out of ten Americans, too," Osborne wrote. The latter is a reference to the percentage of Americans which, according to the European press, is willing to follow Kennedy to atomic war over Berlin. "You could all go ahead and die for Berlin, for Democracy, to keep out the red hordes or whatever you like," the letter continued.

"Till then, damn you, England. You're rotting now and quite soon you'll disappear. My hate will outrun you yet, if only for a few seconds. I wish it could be eternal."

Osborne is best known to Americans by movies of his plays *Look Back in Anger* and *The Entertainer*. He is the outstanding figure in the school known as the angry young men. The salient feature of his talented work is its merciless exposure of the snobbery and spurious values of British society. His recent historic drama, *Luther*, received great critical acclaim in both France and Britain.



At United Nations, picket line organized by sympathizers of Cuban revolution and July 26 Movement commemorates eighth anniversary of Moncada assault which launched drive to topple dictator Batista. Demonstrator carrying placard "Let's Trade Not Invade" is Richard Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York. Garza, now seeking signatures to get on ballot, was only mayoralty nominee on picket line. "New York needs an urban reform like Havana's," he said.

Auto Corps. Spurn UAW Demands

By Eugene Bell

DETROIT, Aug. 20 — The tactics of the United Automobile Workers leaders in their current negotiations with the automobile industry for new contracts to replace those expiring August 31 represent a sorry spectacle in the history of a once militant union.

Conditions are favorable for a militant stand by the union. Economic forecasters, from the U.S. Commerce Department to newspaper columnist Sylvia Porter, report a favorable upturn in the business climate. Corporation profits rose sharply this spring, increasing at an annual rate of 10% from the first to the second quarter of 1961. Dealer inventory of cars will drop to a 19-month low August 31. A rising cycle of interest rates indicates a demand for money for investment capital. On the union side, the UAW has available \$42 million in its strike fund.

Togetherness Bid

These facts notwithstanding, UAW President Walter Reuther entered negotiations with the Big Three (June 28 with GM, June 29 with Ford and June 30 with Chrysler) on a conciliatory note. His program might be summed up in the phrase, "Alliance for Progress" — a flexible approach to contract changes permitting more stability in employment for auto workers and a joint campaign with the companies for legislation to help the labor force to adjust to the era of automation.

This one-big-happy-family approach to collective bargaining has evoked absolutely no response from the auto bosses in the seven weeks since negotiations began. GM and Ford have consistently kept their mouths shut. Typical was the complaint of the UAW's Chrysler negotiator, Norman Matthews, on Aug. 15 concerning main contract prospects: "Chrysler specifically ignored problems as if management could make

them disappear by pretending they do not exist."

The exact proposals Reuther is making to the corporations remain a mystery to the rank and file. The only clear proposal in his much ballyhooed "flexible" program is his "salary" demand: put the production workers on salary and allow the work-week to be "flexible." The auto companies, with the exception of American Motors Corp., have rejected this outright. Their eye is on their profit margin, not on finding jobs for their workers.

"Management Rights"

The UAW leaders are also talking about extending SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits) to 52 weeks from the present 26, stiffer rules on overtime regulation, company-paid insurance in place of the present half-and-half arrangement, etc. Perhaps this is the other side of Reuther's "flexible" program? If the union can't get a salary arrangement, he may settle for those contract changes secured by the United Steelworkers in their 1959 strike.

The Big Three have made it clear that in return for any such minor concessions, they want a strengthening of the "management's rights" clause. In other words, to curtail further the mil-

itancy of the rank and file in the shop — no slowdowns, no work stoppages, no strikes!

Strike Vote

The ambiguity of the union's demands was emphasized this week with the announcement of the UAW's International Executive Board that strike votes would be taken throughout the union to "show the companies that the members are behind their leaders." Indications are that the vote will be 90% or better to strike, if necessary. This compares favorably to the 96.8% strike vote approval in 1958.

Another and different indication of militancy was evidenced when 550 Chrysler committeemen and local officers met Aug. 16 to hear a report by Norman Matthews on negotiations. They wanted to know what is being proposed to end layoffs, speedup, short work weeks, unfair production standards, overtime in slump periods, and why they shouldn't strike Chrysler regardless of which company was made the first strike target. At the end of a heated meeting on these issues, the UAW officials barely squeezed through a vote of confidence. This shows how far apart the UAW bigwigs are from the rank-and-file members on what to fight for and how to fight for it.

SWP Candidates in Detroit Defend Red-Baited Democrat

DETROIT, Aug. 20 — The undemocratic character of the Democratic Party is being pinpointed here in the current attacks by that party on Coleman Young, Democratic candidate in the 9th district for constitutional convention delegate in the Sept. 12 election.

Young won the Democratic nomination in this district in the primary held July 25. Ever since then the local newspapers have been trying to smear him, and the Democratic Party refuses to endorse him although he was the clear choice of the Democrats in his district.

Young has a good chance of being elected anyhow, because the 9th district is traditionally and heavily Democrat. But even if he wins, there is a serious threat that he may not be seated at the convention.

One pretext for the attacks is that Young maintains two residences, one in and one out of the 9th district. But everybody knows that this is phony and that his residence in the district is perfectly legal.

The real reason for the smears is that Young was a leader of the defunct Progressive Party over 10 years ago; that he was a leader of the defunct National Negro Labor Council; and that he refused to collaborate with the House Un-American Activities Committee during one of its witch-hunting visits here.

"What's wrong with that?" asked Robert Himmel, socialist candidate for mayor, in a statement on the Young case this week.

"I say these things are to his credit, and that they make Young superior to most Democratic Party candidates, who give only lip-service to the fight against unemployment, racial discrimination and the threat of war."

Himmel said he hoped that red-baiting wouldn't prevent anyone in the 9th district from voting for candidates of their free choice. He also urged all voters to demand that all constitutional convention delegates elected Sept. 12, whether Democrat, Republican, Socialist Workers or anything else, should be seated at the convention. "Failure to do this will mean discrimination against the voters and denial of their right to choose their own representatives," he pointed out.

Himmel drew some important lessons from the Young case:

1. By trying to flout the will of the rank-and-file Democrats who nominated Young, the Democratic Party shows how undemocratic it is.
2. At election time the Democratic Party pretends to be a fighter for better conditions for poor people, an end to racial discrimination, etc. But when they see somebody on their ticket who might get elected and really fight for these things, they show how little difference there is between them and the Republicans.
3. "We socialists believe that instead of trying to 'reform' the Democratic Party, those who really want to improve conditions for the American people should get together and work to build a new party, a labor party. Such a party would not have to answer to big business politicians or newspapers for its candidates or its program. It could elect to office candidates who really represent the majority of the voters — the working people, Negroes and other oppressed sections of the population."

"The recent formation of a new party in Canada shows how realistic and practical this proposal is. The attack on Coleman Young illustrates the futility of any other course."

Himmel's statement ended by urging the voters in Detroit to "protest the dirty work in the 9th district and to encourage the growth of a new party by casting their votes for the socialist and independent candidates on the Sept. 12 ballot."

An Interview With Che Guevara's Mother

[The following interview with Celia de Guevara, the mother of "Che" Guevara, is translated from the July 6 issue of *Palabra Obrera* (Worker's Word), a Buenos Aires newspaper published by a left-wing grouping of the Peronist movement.]

Q: What is the relation of the Cuban revolution to the revolutionary processes occurring throughout the world?

A: It is, of course, part of the awakening of the peoples of the world. It is an attempt — successful and fortunate — of a semi-colonial country to liberate itself from the imperial yoke.

Q: What is the principal basis of support of the Cuban revolution?

A: The revolution finds its support fundamentally in the armed people, and in their confidence and faith in the possibilities of their own revolution. In Cuba the conquests of the people are concrete and tangible, the only form in which the peasantry, which is very "Doubting Thomas," that is, has "to see to believe," develops the confidence which it has today in its own destiny.

Q: Which social sector, political party, organism, or simply team do you consider to be the vanguard of the Cuban revolution?

A: Those who have always inspired and deepened the revolution have been its own leadership.

Q: How has the USSR influenced the development of the Cuban revolution?

A: The USSR is an indispensable point of support for Cuba today. But I must say that the revolution, as a political and military fact, together with its principal conquests and its economics, were undertaken by the Cubans themselves, with their own forces. I remember that in a yearbook, published in Cuba the first of January 1959 [1960?] — that is, months before the Soviet offer of aid — the conquests and projects to develop the Cuban economy as a whole were outlined on the basis of the resources of the island itself, without external aid. When imperialism carried out its economic and then military aggression, the necessity of support from the USSR became evident.

Q: In Cuba is the Communist party the motor or vanguard of the revolution, or does it simply support it?

A: The Communist party has provided the Cuban revolution with self-sacrificing and very in-

telligent militants. At times they have played a role of great importance, as in the declaration of the general strike which was a factor in the revolutionary triumph. But it must be said that the Communist party is not the motor of the revolution. It should be recalled that it was only shortly before the triumph that the party made a sharp turn to support of the revolution. In general, I consider what Wright Mills said in *Listen, Yankee* to be correct, that the Communist party in Cuba, and other places in Latin America, is a more conservative party in relation to others that make revolutions as in Cuba.

Q: How do you explain why imperialism refuses so stubbornly to negotiate, or better, doesn't have the least tolerance for the Cuban revolution and follows the policy of liquidating it at all costs?

A: Imperialism's hate and fear arise not only from the millions which Wall Street lost in the revolution but from the example it sets — fearful for imperialism — which all the peoples of the continent might follow.

Q: Do you believe that the conditions that gave rise to the Cuban revolution exist in our country?

A: Ever since the present government linked itself to the rule of imperialism, pre-revolutionary conditions have existed, although different from those in Cuba. In the first place the presence of a strong middle class, liberal and knowledgeable, which supports the formation of big national movements, but which, I believe, will retard the development of a revolutionary socialist process. Then the existence of an organized working class with a conscious tradition of struggle which in Cuba played only a secondary role. But something they had in Cuba but not here was a regime intolerable to the people and corrupted to the core.

Q: *Palabra Obrera* supports the necessity of organizing an electoral front among the Castroites, anti-imperialist Peronism, the Argentine Socialist party, the Communist party and all the currents that support the Cuban revolution. What is your opinion about this?

A: That it is very positive and that it must be constituted by all the anti-imperialist currents. But this front must be representative and democratically organized, without limiting itself to a mere agreement among leaders.

Robert F. Williams Evades False Arrest

Robert Williams, editor and publisher of the *Crusader*, Monroe, N.C., and president of the Union County NAACP, foiled a recent false arrest attempt by Monroe police.

Williams, whose life was threatened during attempts to integrate a municipally supported swimming pool had his car forced into a ditch by police. They ordered him to follow them to headquarters on the grounds of improper head lights. "One of Williams' lights had been torn out by a culprit who made an attempt on his life and the police have refused to issue a warrant," said the *Crusader*.

Witnesses, including a minister and ten baseball players, pointed out that it was not dark. Williams asked why other cars which were going by without their lights on were not stopped, but was told he "had nothing to do with that." Police also stated they would not take bond and that he should simply follow the police car.

When the officers passed Williams' street, he turned quickly

into his yard and entered his house with the police in hot pursuit. Mrs. Williams appeared at the back door with a rifle. Told of her husband's offense, she too noted that it wasn't yet dark and asked why didn't they try to find the white man who had rammed her husband's car. The police left and did not keep their promise to return.

Late that night two carloads of white men drove by the Williams house, firing pistols. Their fire was answered by the rifles of Williams' defense guard. Anonymous phone callers asked if "Old Castro" was in jail.

Good Work, Bad Pay

In the United States in 1960, the average agricultural worker produced enough food to feed himself and 23 others, compared with 15 others in 1950 and 11 others in 1940. The composite farm wage rate in 1960 was only 81 cents per hour.

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Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Election Rally. Hear the candidates: for Mayor — Bob Himmel; for Common Council — James Sexton and Sarah Lovell; for Con-Con — Larry Dolinski and Paul Dennis. Entertainment, refreshments. 8 p.m. Fri., Sept. 8. 3737 Woodward.

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NEW YORK

Cuba, the Afro-american and Marxism, a dissertation by author Harold Cruse. Entertainment, supper and refreshments served from 5 p.m. Sunday, Aug. 27 at 325 E. 17th St. Sponsored by Associate Members on Guard Committee for Freedom. Contrib. \$1.00.

Hear about the attempted assassination of Robert F. Williams. Hear Julian Mayfield, author and journalist, on the Crisis of Negro Leadership. 8:30 p.m. Friday, Sept. 8 at Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Ave. (nr. 14th St.), Rm. 8B. Refreshments following meeting at 116 University Pl. Proceeds to defense of Robert Williams. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. GR 5-9441.

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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary, Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., Sept. 8, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFK, 90.7 on your dial.

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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A Horse of a Different Color

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who is far from being an impatient or extreme leader in the fight against Jim Crow, made a cogent observation the other day. Citing the speed with which Congress had rushed through legislation to punish airplane hijackers, he called on Congressional leaders of both parties "to act upon civil rights with at least the same speed exercised in behalf of property rights."

Wilkins' statement certainly spotlights a glaring contrast. In a matter of days, in fact hours, after the highjacking over Mexico, Congress had cut through all the red tape and had several bills on the floor. Nor were they pussyfooting bills — but as strong as they were reactionary, even including the death penalty. The only delay tolerated was a few hours' "debate" so that every demagogic blab-mouth who so wished could make the record in favor.

It is now a century since the Civil War and almost that long since the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution "guaranteeing" the Negro people full and equal rights. Yet the amount of implementing or civil-rights legislation passed to date is as ridiculous in amount as it is in effectiveness. The most toothless legislation on earth is this country's civil-rights laws. But even this has never been used fully by any administration — Democratic or Republican — for fear that the resulting gumming might irritate the powerful forces of Jim Crow.

Wilkins can point out Congress' inconsistency but as long as he refuses to break with the Democrats and Republicans to help build a new party of labor and minority peoples, he is contributing to the continuance of the old shell game on civil rights which he claims to deplore.

Embarrassed at the UN

Tunisia supposedly ceased to be a French colony in 1956 and became an independent nation. But the French imperialists don't see it that way and Washington is backing them up.

For over five years Tunisia unsuccessfully sought to negotiate the French into an evacuation of the naval base at Bizerte, one of country's main cities. A recent flare-up there resulted in the French forces destroying much of the city and occupying three-fourths of it. At present they not only refuse to evacuate the base but the city itself.

Despite all the diplomatic pressure the U.S. State Department could exert, Tunisia and the Afro-Asian bloc succeeded in getting a special session of the United Nations General Assembly called to take up the matter. This is a great embarrassment to the Kennedy administration which is pushing a world-wide propaganda campaign about how fervently U.S. capitalism believes in the right of self determination and how much it loves the newly independent nations. For propaganda is one thing but when the chips are down, as in Bizerte, U.S. imperialism is on the side of French imperialism.

The French diplomats are so contemptuous of the Afro-Asian protests that they are not even attending the UN session but are leaving U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson to carry the ball for them. First he condescended the Afro-Asian bloc into presenting as mild a resolution as he could. Then in a debate he deplored the resolution and made it clear that the U.S. would not vote for it.

It is not only a matter of backing up an important imperialist ally. The U.S. Navy, too, maintains a base in a country which doesn't want it — Guantanamo Bay in Cuba.

But what about the right of self-determination of small nations? Oh, the State Department is strongly for that in cases where the Kremlin is doing the violating.

Two Setbacks for Anti-Cuba Policy

In rapid succession Washington's anti-Cuba plans have suffered two stunning blows. First was the unanticipated triumph of Cuba's Che Guevara at the Punta del Este Conference; next, the sweeping election victory of Dr. Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party in British Guiana.

Punta del Este was planned as an "Alliance for Progress" spectacular at which Latin American nations, grateful for U.S. aid, would isolate Cuba diplomatically as a prelude to joint action against it. Instead, Cuba achieved closer connections there with other Latin American governments. Major Guevara's subsequent visit to Argentine President Frondizi and decoration with Brazil's highest medal by President Quadros proved that.

In 1953 British imperialism, with Washington's encouragement, sent troops to depose Dr. Jagan's administration as "communist." The recent election will make the PPP leader British Guiana's first Prime Minister. He and his party are open admirers of Fidel Castro and Cuba. It's been a poor month for isolating Cuba.

Cuba's Art Controversy

The following report from Havana by Cedric Belfrage is reprinted, with permission of the editors, from the July 31 issue of the *National Guardian*.

* * *

While Cuba's revolutionary masses are celebrating the eighth birthday of Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement, writers and artists are feverishly planning their first Congress, to open here on Aug. 18. What will come out of this gathering none can safely predict, but it may well be the broadest free-for-all of its kind ever held in a socialist country.

Cuba has three artists (using the term generally) of recognized international stature: the ballerina Alicia Alonso, the poet Nicolas Guillen and the novelist Alejo Carpentier. There are Cubans of talent in every cultural field; and those who have remained — as most of them have — are keenly aware of the challenge they now face. Many welcome socialism as an atmosphere in which they can work better, and some have fought for it. Others have regarded themselves as "outside politics." But almost all seem determined to work out in their own Cuban way the problem of the artist under socialism.

Clearly there will be hot arguments at the Congress about "socialist realism" and the extent to which the Eastern socialist countries' cultural policies should serve as a guide for Cuba. Especially in the field of painting (abstract painters being predominant here) fears are expressed of "Stalinism." Is one going to have to paint pictures of cement factories and write odes to tractors? Is art to be mobilized and directed by politicians — revolutionary, yes, but still politicians? Will socialist Cuba echo Mao Tse-tung's call for 100 flowers to bloom and 100 schools of thought to contend, and if so, will Cuba really mean it?

On the Waterfront

Such questions reflect concern lest state control of art outlets develop into suffocating censorship. Response to the revolution has been slow in terms of themes for works of art. Recently a Cuban documentary film called *PM* was rejected by ICAIC, the state organization which controls all movie programs (and has itself made some excellent documentaries), and a group of indignant young artists decided the time had already come to challenge the "state censors." Several hundred

intellectuals, scores of them in militia uniforms, gathered in the Casa de las Americas hall viewed the movie twice, and spent the night in a wordy battle about ICAIC's action.

To this observer it seems healthy that Cuban artists should examine the censorship question and discuss — in what was really a prelude to the August congress — the methods whereby a work's "publishability" will be judged in socialist Cuba. On the other hand they seemed to have chosen the wrong horse for this mission. *PM* consists of Saturday night scenes in Havana's waterfront bars. The fact that the action is filmed in the capital of the first Western socialist country is ignored. The movie is a brief portrayal of a "pub-crawl," but says nothing even indirectly about the subject in general or about the pub-crawlers pictured.

PM seems to have little merit by any standards; the most tolerant critic might call it a promising first try by its young director for the \$90 it cost him to make. But the debate in Casa de las Americas has been set off by the ICAIC's rejection, allegedly on the ground that *PM* was "counter-revolutionary." The film's defenders wanted to know: Who says so and by what right?

In itself the *PM* dispute is a teacup storm, but the debate will continue on the larger issues which the pro-*PM*-ists believe to be involved. A weekly platform for cultural controversy is provided by the magazine *Lunes*, issued as a supplement to the newspaper *Revolución*. The fact that the editors of *Lunes* are leading *PM*-ists — and that *Revolución* is the organ of the July 26 Movement — shows how "typically Cuban" this revolution is. *Lunes* specializes in the presentation and defense of abstract art and has a soft spot for U.S. beatnik writers with Cuban leanings. A recent issue contained four pages on the beatniks; a seven-page Ionesco-type playlet about mad old ladies, by a Cuban teen-ager; an article by the British Marxist critic John Berger, and a series of Cuban artists' statements about the August congress.

In these statements intellectuals ranging from abstract painters to Communist poets spar in preparation for the four-day battle over what "cultural freedom" should mean in socialist Cuba; but through them runs a powerful thread of patriotism and pride in

the revolution. Many evoke the spirit of Martí, Cuba's revolutionary "apostle" who was also its outstanding man of letters. Alejo Carpentier writes of the need for concrete "team-work" projects to come out of the congress, in the field of "historical and critical revision." The Communist writer Juan Marinello stresses the advice to Cuban artists by Nazim Hikmet on the Turkish poet's recent visit here, to "look toward your colleagues of the socialist countries." But nobody seems to imply that Cuban artists should emulate Soviet or U.S. culture. They want to seek something of their own.

Castro Sits In

After the all-night *PM* talkfest, many of the protagonists were depressed by the "anti-cultural super-Marxist pomposity" of the defenders of the ICAIC "ban" or by the "decadent, bourgeois libertarianism" of the *PM*-ists. Prospects looked a bit blue for the Congress until Premier Castro called representatives of all viewpoints together and encouraged them to air their principles and complaints. Castro did little talking, but listened raptly, puffing cigars. Versions of what he did say vary, but all who were present chant his praises and declare the differences to be less formidable than they had appeared.

With such a chairman, Cuba's cultural controversialists stand a good chance of finding a workable agreement on their problems. But as Castro would be the first to say, nobody can lay down rules for the production of works of art.

[In the Aug. 3 *New York Post* a Reuters dispatch from Havana said Castro was holding further meetings with leading writers and artists. On the relationship of art to the revolution, the dispatch quotes him as offering this formula: "Within the Revolution, Everything; Outside the Revolution, Nothing." It adds that he also declared: "Do not be afraid, ladies and gentlemen. We are not going to have Stalinism here." — Editor.]

... Berlin

(Continued from Page 1)

East Germany. At the same time Khrushchev gave assurances, joined in by East German spokesmen, that U.S., British and French "rights" in Berlin and including access thereto would not be changed in any way when East German troops replaced Soviet troops.

But this might entail dealings with the East German regime (even though diplomatic face-saving devices have been hinted at). Opposition to any such dealings serves as the excuse for the war preparations and bellicose talk of Kennedy, Adenauer and their generals.

Berlin is but the most explosive of a number of cold-war time bombs ticking away in the world — divided Korea and Viet Nam are others. There can be no certainty that even carefully contrived and controlled war crises, like the present, will not explode when countries, and even cities, are cut in two and occupied by troops of cold-war antagonists. U.S. "rights" in Berlin are no more valid than the Kremlin's "rights" there — nothing more than the "rights" of conquest.

Only the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Berlin and all Germany can prepare the ground for a permanent solution. With the workers of East Germany then able to settle accounts with the hated bureaucrats, who in 1953 called for tanks against strikers and today build walls to hold in the population; and with the workers of West Germany able to turn their full attention to the reactionary politicians and industrialists they serve, a unity can be rebuilt which will once again put the German proletariat on the high road of the class struggle.

Eastland Committee Issues Text of Fair Play Hearings

New York, August 23 — The Fair Play for Cuba Committee denounced as "pathetic and silly lies," the latest attempts of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Mississippi Democrat James O. Eastland, to smear the committee as a "substantially Communist-financed and Communist-dominated" operation.

Eastland made the latest charges against FPCC today in a statement released on the publication of a printed document, entitled "Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Part 3" containing the testimony of Edward Shaw, Midwest Regional Representative of FPCC, and seven other persons. Among the witnesses was Detroit Police Department Detective, Stanley Kowalski, who presented the Eastland Subcommittee with such "valuable evidence" as photos of Mr. Shaw's old car and a photo of an unidentified man entering Mr. Shaw's home in Detroit.

Richard Gibson, FPCC Acting Executive Secretary, said the Mississippi Senator and his colleagues, Sen. Thomas A. Dodd (D-Conn.) and Sen. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.), knew quite

well from his own testimony before the subcommittee that he is not a member of the Communist Party and that he is the present national head of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. They apparently realize that Mr. Shaw is also not a member of the Communist Party, but what really disturbs them is that membership in FPCC is open to all honest Americans who believe that present U.S. policies towards Cuba are "criminally aggressive and detrimental to the best interests of the United States in Latin America and seriously threaten world peace as well."

Gibson said he was especially delighted with Sen. Dodd's remark that Mr. Shaw was "the most difficult witness" he had ever seen in his three years in the Subcommittee. "We have never had any such trouble with any other witness," Dodd said.

Free copies of the testimony of Shaw and others called before the witch-hunt group may be obtained by writing to Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. The volume to be requested is entitled "Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Part 3."

The American Way of Life

Stock-Piling for Survival

The other day a friend handed us a neatly mimeographed shopping list with the heading "Emergency Food Reserve." She explained that upon her arrival at work one Blue Monday she had found the list on her desk along with an explanatory leaflet from the City of New York Civil Defense.

Reading through the leaflet, we learned the following:

"President John F. Kennedy has held a series of meetings with his top aides and the Security Council on the mounting crisis in Berlin. In the light of the deteriorating situation, the President feels all preparations should be made to meet any contingency.

"He has stressed stepped-up Civil Defense activity and has asked the public to co-operate... The President has suggested the stock-piling of a two-week food supply by each family."

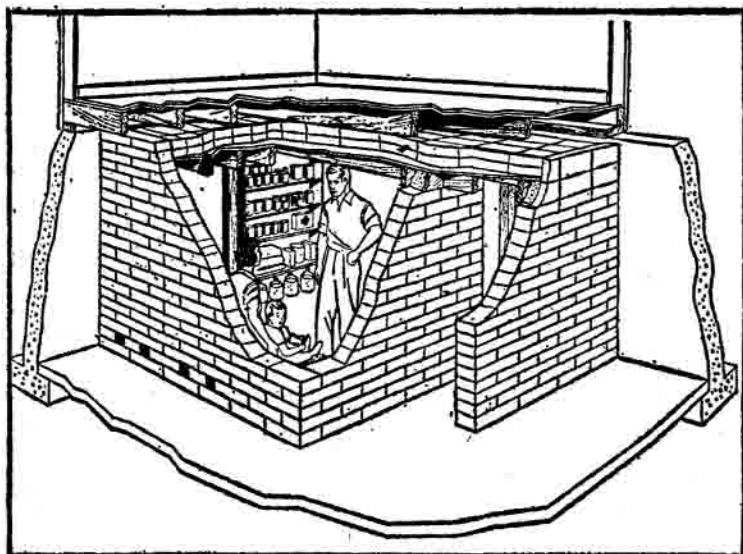
Bombs and Cans

To be sure. While our government stock-piles nuclear bombs we stock-pile tuna fish and — according to this very up to date shopping guide — dried skim milk, orange and grapefruit sections, tins of unsalted crackers, meat and vegetable stew, spaghetti, ravioli, peanut butter and, for a festive touch, marmalade and chocolate syrup.

"New York City," we read in the introduction to the list, "is a possible enemy target. If our city is bombed you may not be able to leave the shelter of your home for at least 14 days because radioactivity may make it dangerous. The food in your home will be the only food your family will have during such an emergency."

The vision passing before our eyes was of a bombed-out New York whose desolate landscape is dotted with Home Food Reserve Shelves, sole survivors amidst the rubble.

We were still musing on war, fate, the deteriorating world situation, ravioli, chocolate syrup and other related aspects of the human condition, when we ran



HUMAN BARBECUE PIT for nuclear war — a small-family model approved by civil-defense authorities.

across a headline in the *New York Times*: "Soviet Lag Seen in Civil Defense."

"There is no propaganda about civil defense" in the Soviet Union, we are told; in fact, "scarcely a word is ever uttered that might instill in the Soviet people any fear, or even consciousness, of the dire possibilities of nuclear disaster. There are no outward signs of even the most elementary preparations for civil defense against nuclear blasts or fallout."

Irresponsible

Is the Kremlin irresponsible in not preparing its people for the possibility of nuclear attack? No, for civil defense is useless against surprise attack; there would be no warning period. Only a nation preparing to strike first would gain any advantage from such preparations, and only such a nation would need to condition its people for that day.

It's in this respect that the efforts of the Civil Defense authorities are not merely ludicrous, but genuinely sinister.

"Remember," the leaflet commands, "the prepared family is the family that will survive."

Out of this thought is meant to spring the conclusion that a third world war is not unthinkable... for at least "my family" will survive. This would reduce the prospect of atomic war to just one more added burden for the housewife; she must seek to protect her children from accident, disease, emotional insecurity, bad companions... and now — nuclear fallout.

Head for the Hills

As for us, we'd rather reserve space in one of the new atomic-proof mountain vaults where the insurance companies are being urged to store their records (what chaos, if when the radioactive dust has settled, it couldn't be established who was insured and who wasn't).

But while we're ready to go along that far with the "survival" program, we've decided to skip the Home Food Reserve Shelf — and the canned heat, stove, can openers, matches, candles, paper cups and plates.

Our stock-pile list is a cork-screw and a case of well-aged Scotch.

Judy McGill

Letters from Our Readers

From Independent's Publisher

New York, N.Y.

I enjoyed your story about my difficulty with the State Department on travel to Cuba. Incidentally, I have not been treasurer of the New York chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee for some time, although I am still a member and active supporter of the committee.

Today I received a special delivery letter from the State Department containing my passport with a validation for three months. The reversal came without comment.

Lyle Stuart

A Visitor in Rome

Rome, Italy

According to a member of the Military Police, there are two embassies here that are under constant guard — the Austrian and the American. The U.S. Embassy occupies the huge palace that was once the home of the queen of Italy. As a Roman street cleaner said: "Now the real ruler of Italy is there." Incidentally, the first thing you see, landing at the Rome airport, are fleets of oil trucks, Shell and Esso.

There are posters announcing a special mass for Cuba. It was attended by big shots in all the government coalition parties, the right-wing socialists being especially well represented. You can see "Viva il Duce," "Viva la Falange" (Franco's) and "Viva il Fascismo" scrawled on walls.

But these are very few compared to "Viva PCI" (Communist Party of Italy), "Viva Cuba," "Viva Castro" and, in huge letters neatly painted on a wall in a working-class section, "We want a left government."

I talked to some Roman workers who said there are nine million PCI and left Socialist (Nenni wing) voters in Italy. They were very interested in Cuba and knew a lot about it. The Soviet Union was hardly mentioned except in connection with Cuba. I asked a bus driver, member of the PCI, if he would rather visit the Soviet Union or Cuba. He gestured eloquently and said, "Cuba is a Latin country."

There are many posters in the city announcing a one-million circulation drive for *L'Unità*, the PCI daily. Two out of four letters in today's issue refer to Cuba. One is from a member of the Cultural Committee of the PCI who is a member of the municipal council of La Spezia. He severely criticized *L'Unità's* approval of the Soviet restoration of the death penalty for currency black marketers.

He said: "I maintain that socialist morality should justify the death penalty only in case a war or revolution is in progress. Castro would have been able to shoot all those who landed in Cuba with arms in hand, but the safety of the USSR is not menaced by two black marketers in currency... I maintain that our disagreement with our Soviet friends (The PCI has adopted resolutions opposing the death penalty) should be publicly expressed..."

M. Z.

Why "Afro-American"?

New York, N. Y.

Radicals who fail to see anything more than a mystical fascination or some form of escapism in the current tendency of militant young rebels of African descent to deprecate the term "Negro" and replace it by "Afro-American" and "black" are missing much of the point.

Integration, i.e., assimilation in-

to the surrounding North American society and all its aspects as it is, has been the predominant mode and the explicitly stated goal of the struggle during the past decades. This goal is self-contradictory, however, on two counts: (1) The Jim-Crow features of U.S. society are so deeply embedded that they could not possibly be resolved without surgical intervention, i.e., a social revolution; (2) The existing society is frankly not worth being integrated into; it should be uprooted and replaced by a new society.

Partial awareness of the above contradictions by Afro-Americans has led to the extreme of mumbo-jumbo black nationalism, but this is only one current. The new generation of fighters include many who, while not hesitating to demand and fight for every denied right and public service, find American society in toto to be shoddy merchandise. The goal has to be, and can be, as Cuba and Africa demonstrate, something better than the "American dream" dedicated to lies, property and the pursuit of selfishness, to the accumulation of chrome-plated junk by a nation of smug, cold, narrow-minded, arrogant North Americans out of touch with the rest of humanity.

Liberals react adversely upon hearing the term "Afro-," expressing their uneasiness and even horror at the fact that their nice Negro friends are escaping from their guidance, rejecting them and their rotten, doomed society. Some white radicals fail to get the picture because they have lost contact with the black ghettos, and are unable to dig the music of the new generation.

The insistence and emphasis on association with Africa and the colonial revolution, with the concurrent rejection of U.S. capitalist society, are going to be permanent features of political life in the struggle. Rejection of the word "Negro" may or may not turn out to be only a passing symptom or fad.

R. Verney

Those "Cuban" Hijackers

Detroit, Mich.

The dishonesty of the American press was highlighted this week by the hijacking of the jet airliner by "four Cubans." Such has been the campaign of calumny against Cuba that the wire services blithely transmit fabricated news without seriously checking the facts. Even the next day, when the true identity of the two hijackers was revealed there was still talk that this did not "preclude their being citizens of Cuba." To maintain the fiction of Cuban involvement, the FBI peddled the story that Bearden had contacted the Cuban Embassy in Mexico last January and indicated he wanted to go to Cuba.

The dishonesty of the press was also pointed up last week by a tiny item buried in the *Detroit News*. Two days after Captain Grisholm had made his space shot the *News* had featured an outsized picture of a trawler and a screaming headline that a "Russian trawler" was taking pictures 20 miles from Grisholm's landing point.

Now, in a one-inch report, the *News* admits this to be "an erroneous identification of a ship which turned out to be the *Acania*, operated by the Stanford Research Institute, an American organization."

J. A.

Thought for the Week

"There are new factors in this moment of history, a new urgency, a new and different choice of the goals to be sought. A symbol of the newness was the Cuban Minister of Finance, Ernesto (Che) Guevara, expounding for the first time at a hemispheric meeting the principles of socialism and a planned economy..."

—Editorial in the Aug. 18 *New York Times* on the Punta del Este conference.

It Was Reported in the Press

Facts of Life — *New York Times* reporter Leo Egan says the New York Democratic primary election fight will not reveal anything new to professional politicians. "But," he adds, "to many others, particularly to those who regard politics essentially as a conflict of ideas and programs, the disclosures may be eye-opening. They will demonstrate that many of those most active in politics have basically selfish motives, that pocket-book interests strongly influence their political stands."

Every Little Bit Helps — The Food and Drug Administration obtained a temporary injunction barring the makers of Tootsie Roll candy from shipping from its Hoboken, N. J. plant because of short weight. Packages labelled as containing nine ounces were found to contain only 8 1/4 ounces. The plant turns out about 250,000 pounds of the candy a day, bringing the daily short-weighting to more than 20,000 pounds.

A Stake in the Fight — Authorization has been granted to an investment brokerage firm to establish branch offices at the post exchanges at various of the Air Force's European bases. Maybe it was felt that selling corporation stocks to the soldiers will help them understand what it is they're defending.

U.S. Space Victory — A press release from *Radio Liberty*, a privately operated cold-war station that beams broadcasts into the Soviet Union, reports triumphantly that Soviet cosmonaut Titov

heard several of its broadcasts while whizzing through outer space. "Major Titov's experience suggests," said a *Radio Liberty* spokesman, "that Western broadcasts will reach Soviet spacemen also on the moon."

It's a Problem — Outlining plans for a guerrilla warfare unit, Roger Hilsman, State Dept. director of Intelligence and Research, explained that to be successful, guerrilla fighters must have popular support. This creates a major problem in some countries, he added, where "conservative elements in a community... struggle irrationally against all reform."

Reconverting Island of Sugar — Ten sugar mills have been dismantled by the Cuban government for shipment to China and a trade agreement calls for 40 more to follow, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. Cuba said it plans to curtail sugar production to speed the diversification of agriculture.

It's Those Atomic Cocktails — "Nations that have died, have died drunk, and we must now choose between national drunkenness and national welfare." — Mrs. Fred J. Tooze, president of Women's Christian Temperance Unions.

A Wagner "Achievement" — New York's Mayor Wagner is running for re-election on his record. That record includes, among other things, the 2,045 fire violations listed in the city's public schools last month.

Laid Off — The Central Intelligence Agency has sent pink slips

to the 1,300 counter-revolutionary mercenaries left over from the April 17 invasion of Cuba. They will now be eligible for public relief or joining the army. Some had been receiving \$250 a month of your tax money.

And They Should Know — Peter Bart, advertising columnist for the *New York Times* reports that the overwhelming majority of advertising men agree that television is pretty bad. "However," he adds, "the advertising men do not believe there is much likelihood of a change taking place in television programming."

CIA Next? — Texas members of the American Legion have demanded that Congress investigate the State Department and Supreme court for "subversive" infiltration.

Why Not Jim-Crow Hurricanes? — Florida's hurricane season is approaching and the *Miami Herald* (July 30) printed several pages of information about precautions to be taken, etc. Included was a half page giving the new official Red Cross list of disaster shelters for Dade County and the Upper Keys. The Red Cross officially lists "white shelters" and "colored shelters." Of the 11 areas into which the region is divided, three have only white shelters, but one has only colored shelters. During the war GI's swore that a fortune awaited the man who invented a portable foxhole. A similar market must exist in Jim Crow Florida for a portable cyclone cellar.